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ABSTRACT

Among the possible results brought about by the reduction from 1970 to 1980 of the overseas staffs of American newspapers were (1) increased reliance upon official or state media as news sources; (2) a nation underinformed despite its heavy worldwide political, economic, and cultural involvement; and (3) a lack of coherent reporting of the historical and human complexities of a situation. With this in mind, the foreign news coverage from the Chicago "Tribune" (which drastically reduced its foreign staff) and the New York "Times" (which maintained a sizeable foreign staff) was compared to examine the impact of foreign staff reductions on the quality of foreign coverage. Foreign news content was analyzed in 14 issues of each paper for each of the ten years. Variables recorded were geopolitical focus (first, second or socialist, and third world news) and origin (wire service or correspondent). Although both papers published progressively fewer foreign items, the decline was noticeably greater for the "Tribune." In eight of ten years the "Times" published more correspondent items than wire service items, while in none of the ten years did the "Tribune" correspondents provide more items than were taken from the wire services. As "Tribune" correspondents became more involved in third world coverage, the paper relied more heavily on wire services for first world news while the "Times" maintained its correspondent coverage of all three geopolitical regions. (HTH)

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International Communication

FOREIGN STAFF REDUCTIONS AND NEWS COVERAGE: AN EXPLORATORY COMPARISON OF TWO NEWSPAPERS' CONTENT

By

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Foreign Staff Reductions and News Coverage:

An Exploratory Comparison of Two Newspapers' Content

During the 70s, commentators on the American news media decried the reduction of the overseas corps of American newspaper correspondents.[1] Implicit in these lamentations seemed to be a belief that the interests of American readers can best be served when American "eyes and ears" channel foreign news back to the United States.[2]

Some have speculated that a reduced American newsgathering network overseas could result in: increased reliance by remaining correspondents upon official or state media as sources, because correspondents would be unable to efficiently provide first-hand coverage of varied news events in different locations;[3] cessation of the often essential practice of correspondents' pooling their efforts on difficult stories;[4] a qualitative loss in foreign coverage greater than the loss in numbers, resulting in "mediocrity and parochialism" in news content; a nation underinformed despite its heavy worldwide political, economic and cultural involvement; a decrease in "the diversity of viewpoints and perspectives expressed in the media"; instances of "oversight and neglect" because coverage of some nations would be restricted to the lull between events in nations deemed more important to American interests;[5] increasing dependence on television's necessarily superficial coverage for a world view;[6] and, generally, a lack of coherent reporting of the "historical and human complexities of a situation."[7]

One observer has concluded that, while the amount of world to be covered, in a sense, has grown, the number of correspondents employed to cover complex world affairs has diminished.[8] In a survey of American reporters assigned to the Middle East, for example, Sreebny found that of 24 correspondents responding, nine were each charged with reporting the news from 15 or more countries.[9]

That America's overseas press corps indeed dwindled during the 70s has been documented. Often cited is Kliesch's 1975 survey that tallied only 429 full-time, American foreign correspondents, a decrease of 24 percent from the 563 identified in 1969 and an 18 percent drop from the 524 enumerated in 1972.[10] Hohenberg estimated that, discounting non-reportorial staff, there were only 300 to 350 by 1976.[11]

Cost has usually been the reason for decisions to recall correspondents. The total annual expense per correspondent jumped from an estimated $50,000 in the 60s to nearly $100,000 by the mid-70s.[12]

Some observers have predicted that the number of full-time, American correspondents overseas will increase in coming years, partially in response to a perceived new salience of international news for American readers.[13] However, the annual cost-per-correspondent is soon expected to top $200,000;[14] whether American news organizations are willing or able to spend such amounts remains questionable.

The trend during the 70s, however, was unmistakably of reduction or elimination of overseas staffs by many American papers.

Did these reductions have any impact upon the international news coverage offered to American readers? Did the volume of foreign coverage in American papers that reduced their foreign staffs decrease independent of what many have called an overall, industry-wide trend toward smaller foreign newsholes?[15]

In particular, how did staff reductions affect the coverage of particular regions of the world available to American readers? The difficulty correspondents face in covering some nations is well documented; how, if at all, were those countries covered when newspapers' foreign staffs were cut, given the pronounced trend of increasing restriction of journalists' activities in many third-world nations during the past decade?[16]

This exploratory study sought in-print evidence of any impact of reduced foreign staffing on published international news coverage, by contrasting two large-circulation newspapers with different levels of foreign staffing. Samples of the foreign news content of two "elite" American papers[17] for 10 years (1970 to 1979 inclusive) were compared: the New York Times, which had maintained the same level of overseas staffing during the period;[18] and the Chicago Tribune, which had steadily reduced its overseas staffing, from 13 full-time, American correspondents in 1970 to 11 in 1975 and only 6 by 1980.[19]

The Method

The pertinent between-papers comparisons sought were obtained by analyzing samples of the foreign news content of both papers for the same dates. To obtain two "constructed weeks"[20] for each of the 10 years in the study period, all Sundays, Mondays, etc., in each year were listed and two days randomly selected from each group of days. The 14 issue dates selected each year provided a total sample of 140 issues for each paper.

Two judges coded all foreign news items in each sample issue. Variables recorded and overall coefficients of agreement obtained[21] were: geopolitical focus (first, second or socialist, and third world[22])--93.4; and originating agent (wire service or the paper's own correspondent)--99.0.

Levels of a third variable, Tribune staff reductions, were located by the natural time order.

Where appropriate, the data were analyzed for trends, using a non-parametric test for trend borrowed from econometrics[23] and employing the tau statistic. Each study year was ranked by its natural order in time (1970 was ranked first, 1971 was ranked second, etc.), and frequencies or percentages for levels of the other variables provided the basis for assigning a second set of ranks. The non-parametric test for trend measures the disarray of the second rank in

comparison to the time-order rank.

Tau also lends itself to non-parametric partial correlation analysis, though it is not statistically valid to test for significant differences between original and partial values of tau.[24]

Findings

Table 1 details the numbers of foreign items in each paper for each sample year, as well as the mean number of items per sample date. The Times clearly published more foreign items than did the Tribune across all 10 years, whether viewed in terms of each year's total or mean numbers of items per day. The difference between the papers' means for each year is significant beyond the .001 level by the z-test.

Most striking, however, is the increasingly wider margin between the two papers' means and totals as the study period progressed. In 1969 the Tribune published just over half as many foreign items as the Times. By 1973, the Chicago paper carried slightly more than a third as many foreign items as the Times, a pattern that continued through 1979.

Yet this trend does not indicate a decrease only in Tribune foreign coverage. In fact, readers of both papers encountered fewer and fewer published foreign items.

When these visible trends are tested for significance, tau for the Tribune is .45 and for the Times is .42; when converted to z-scores, the probabilities of more extreme trend scores are .036 for the Tribune and .045 for the Times. The data clearly represent a real trend in publication of foreign items for both papers, despite the lack of monotonicity. Over the 10-year period, the total foreign items in both papers diminished significantly, a trend and direction confirmed by the positive values of tau.

Viewed in isolation, the Tribune's trend score and the near-halving of its 1970 item total by the mid-70s provide evidence of the impact of cuts in the Tribune's foreign correspondence staff in the 70s (from 13 to 6). But because the stable-staff Times also used fewer foreign news items, some of the Tribune's diminished coverage may have been independent of staff size. This possibility was examined indirectly in Table 2 by analyzing the originating agent of each year's foreign items to discover whether indeed fewer correspondent-originated items were used.

First, however, note the difference between the papers' percentages of items from the two identified originating agents. In 8 of 10 years, Times correspondents originated more published news items than did the wire services. In fact, in five of the years Times foreign correspondents originated more than half the foreign items published.

By contrast, in none of the 10 years did Tribune foreign correspondents provide more foreign items than were taken from the wire services. The wire services consistently accounted for more than 60 percent of the foreign items available to Tribune readers in the 10 years.

These contrasts clearly indicate the difference between the two papers' staff sizes, Tribune staff cuts not withstanding. Lacking a large complement of foreign correspondents, the Tribune relied heavily upon the wire services. while the Times' large foreign staff made foreign items available to the editorial staff. The small Tribune contingent of correspondents simply could not make available the coverage of foreign events afforded by the wire services; consequently, more wire service items were published. As White and Snider[25] confirmed in early analyses of gatekeeping decision-making, the availability of a news item, regardless of the originating agency, is one key to that item's selection for publication.

In the mid-70s the percentage of correspondent-bylined foreign news in

the Tribune declined. The overall trend score for percentages of published correspondent items ranked against the time order was significant (tau = .51, p = .02) and similar to the trend score for decreasing overall foreign coverage.

The stable-staff Times showed a slight but non-significant trend toward reduced use of foreign items from its large staff (tau = .33, p = .09)

How much, if any, of the Chicago paper's reduced use of correspondent items can be related to staff cuts and how much should instead be attributed to the overall pattern of diminished foreign coverage that characterized both the Times and the Tribune?

The answer was sought through use of partial rank correlation techniques designed to isolate the influence of a third variable on a two-variable relationship.

When the influence of the decline in total foreign coverage is controlled statistically, the Tribune trend score for use of correspondent items changes very little (from tau = .51 to .47). One initial interpretation of this small change in score is that any Tribune decreases in correspondent-originated items were independent of the overall decline. Some of the reduction, then, may have been related to manpower cuts.

When the influence of the decline in total percentages of foreign items is controlled for the Times, that paper's trend score also changes only slightly (dropping from .33 to .24). The slight change suggests that, for the Times, the non-significant trend score for use of correspondent-originated items was not an artifact of overall, diminished foreign coverage;i.e., the overall decline had not obscured a significant reduction in correspondent items comparable to the Tribune trend.

On the basis of these comparisons with the stable-staff Times, Tribune foreign staff cuts were reflected in the publication of Tribune correspondent-

half that paper's foreign items. Yet the Times, like the Tribune, showed an overall trend toward use of fewer foreign items.

But were the Tribune reductions in correspondent items uniform across the three principal geopolitical areas of foreign news coverage? How did the Tribune and the Times cover the three regions? And finally, did either paper diminish its specific use of correspondent-originated copy for coverage of any of the three regions?

To provide a basis for the subanalyses exploring these remaining research questions, Table 3 examines the composition of each sample year's foreign news content, controlling for regional differences.

While both papers gave relatively short shrift to news from the socialist nations--doubtless testimony to those nations' firm grip on channels and sources of information within their borders--only the Times provided consistently what may be termed at least a quantitative "balance" between the first and third worlds.[26] Not until 1979 did the Tribune approach balance in treatment of these two regions.

Though the Tribune consistently provided readers relatively more coverage of first-world than second - or third-world events, only Tribune coverage of the second world exhibited an overall, significant trend ($tau = -.51$, $p = .02$). Again despite a lack of clear monotonicity, the Chicago paper, over time, provided increasing coverage of the second world.

None of the regional trend scores for Times coverage was significant. Thus, neither paper's coverage reflected the reputed increased economic, cultural and political importance of the emerging and developing nations of the third world.

The subanalysis data in Table 4 provide the percentages of agent-identified items from each region that were originated by correspondents, yielding a means of examining the direct, regional impact of Tribune staffing cuts on published correspondent copy.

None of the Times trend scores for use of correspondent items from the three regions is significant. The trend in Tribune copy, on the other hand, was for the percentage of correspondent-originated first-world items to decrease significantly (tau = .64, p = .005), although that paper had not shown a concomitant significant decreasing trend in total coverage of the Western nations (Table 3).

Interestingly, the mid-point in the decade (1974-1975) seems also to represent a major demarcation in Tribune first-world correspondent coverage; the mean percentage for the years prior to 1975 is 35.2 percent, while for the years 1975 to 1979 the mean drops to 14.7 percent. Recall that from 1970 to 1975 the Tribune foreign staff had been reduced from 13 to 11 correspondents; after 1975 and by 1980 the staff was cut to 6. Without more precise chronological placement of staff cuts, however, one can only speculate that the 1974-1975 point does represent a major point of impact of staffing cuts.

Surprisingly, even though the Tribune had shown a significant trend toward increased commitment to second-world coverage (Table 3), that commitment was not signaled in Table 4 data by a concomitant trend of increased correspondent copy from that region (tau = .16, p = .27); the intensified coverage, then, was obviously provided by wire services. Despite a lack of a significant trend, note that there does appear to be a major point of demarcation, as was observed in first-world coverage. Here, however, the point of departure is between 1975 and 1976. Again, caution is advised in interpreting this apparent change point. Further, the curvilinearity visible in Tribune second-world correspondent coverage (note the large increase after 1970, the five years of over-30 percent, and the drop in the last four years) and the few items coded, require that this value of tau be interpreted carefully.

Of particular interest is Tribune coverage of the third-world. The paper

had shown no increased commitment to third-world coverage (Table 3), nor any significant trend toward decreased correspondent copy from that region despite the staff cuts. Even though there were fewer correspondents available, they were able seemingly to provide roughly the same relative amount of third-world coverage as before the staff cuts.

Was the Tribune trend toward reduced correspondent copy from first-world nations a reflection of the Chicago paper's staff cuts?

The in-print evidence is that the Tribune no longer could rely upon its correspondents for coverage of first-world nations. Instead, the Tribune relied increasingly on available wire service coverage of Western and second-world nations.

Because reduced correspondent coverage of these regions would necessitate increased use of wire copy--given the relatively stable proportion of the total newshole devoted to first- and second-world coverage--it may be concluded that the major in-print impact of Tribune staff reductions was to deplete the correspondent coverage of the first world available for publication. In short, staff reductions may have forced a restructuring of foreign operations, with remaining correspondents committed to covering the increasingly important events in the third world--albeit without a notable trend of increased correspondent coverage of that region--while first-world--and increasingly second-world--events were primarily the province of the wires. The data on published foreign news items suggest that, in a sense, the few remaining correspondents' efforts in covering events of growing import within third-world nations made available the same level of correspondent coverage of the third-world as before the cuts.

Conclusions

Newspapers differ, of course, in their selection of news items for publication. Some give more emphasis to economic news or international affairs, while others may make sensational coverage of crimes, disasters or scandals their staple.[29]

It is not surprising, then, that the two papers compared in this study differed in their quantitative commitment to foreign news coverage. Nor is it surprising that, in following the industry-wide trend of reduced foreign coverage, the two papers would differ "qualitatively" in what they chose to maintain, eliminate, or diminish as part of the foreign news offered their readers.

This study deliberately compared two papers which differ in a number of respects. In particular, the papers' content was compared because of the differing levels of foreign staffing of each: the Tribune had undergone major reductions in its level of foreign staffing during the 70s, while the Times, on the other hand, maintained a sizeable staff during the period. As Times Foreign Editor Robert B. Semple Jr. wrote, "I believe that we are virtually alone (the L.A. Times being the other) in maintaining our traditional commitment to foreign newsgathering."[28]

For comparison purposes any changes in the Times' patterns of published coverage could not be attributed to foreign staffing reductions and, instead, reflected perhaps that paper's character ("All the news that's fit to print"), or changing events and focuses in world events.

Both papers reduced their foreign coverage at roughly the same rate during the study period. Times correspondents continued to provide roughly half that paper's foreign items, while varied wire services were the mainstay of Tribune coverage. A relationship was found between Tribune staff reductions and the trend toward a smaller aggregate annual percentage of correspondent-originated items.

The papers differed in trends of regional coverage, as the Tribune gave increasing emphasis to second-world news, but without increasing its use of correspondent-originated coverage of that region. The Tribune consistently gave primary emphasis to first-world news, though its few remaining correspondents played a diminishing role in originating first-world news.

Was there an impact of Tribune staff reductions during the 70s? The answer based on these exploratory data is a qualified "yes".

Tribune manpower cuts doubtless necessitated some restructuring of foreign operations. The depleted staff was unable to maintain the same overall, world-wide level of coverage as before the cuts. Yet the impact of the cuts was not uniform; Tribune correspondents became less involved in first-world coverage and, instead, helped maintain the paper's prior level of coverage of the third-world. This change in patterns of correspondent coverage naturally required increased use of wire copy from first-world nations.

Why would Tribune coverage have taken such a course over the 10 years? The paper could have concentrated its remaining correspondents' efforts in first-world nations where press systems are traditionally more open and where, it might be argued, historical and cultural ties dictate that American interests are more pronounced.

Instead, the evidence indicates that the Chicago paper's correspondent efforts were more likely concentrated in those nations where press systems are often restrictive and sources of information becoming increasingly less accessible. Admittedly, the reputed growing economic and political importance of the third world provide a rationale for greater concentration of the few remaining correspondents' activity in that region. Yet neither paper exhibited an increased overall commitment to offering third-world news to readers.

Nonetheless, one interpretation, tentatively proffered, is that during the 70s, Tribune correspondent activity in the third-world was, in fact, a response to that region's growing importance. The perceived "edge" gained by having the diminished few of the paper's own "eyes and ears" reporting from the scene may have given the paper the impetus to focus correspondent activity in more restrictive third-world regions simply to maintain a prior level of coverage.

But were the paper's readers better served by the Tribune's greater reliance upon first-world wire coverage? The paper joined a host of American newspapers relying on AP, UPI and other agency reporting from the Western nations. Does this indeed constitute the "reduction in the diversity of viewpoints and perspectives" in the media, as feared? Certainly much of the wire services' own priorities of news selection and emphasis would be reflected in Tribune first-world copy.[29]

Similarly, did Tribune readers indeed gain from the paper's apparent concentration of its remaining correspondents' efforts in the third-world?

Qualitative evaluation of the Tribune's patterns and sources of foreign coverage is, of course, subjective. Moreover, these speculative interpretations are limited somewhat by the method employed, and inferences regarding reader impact or gatekeeping decisions must, as in any analysis of content, be subject to further study.

Nonetheless, this study has empirically explored the patterns of foreign news coverage of two major dailies and has found what may be viewed as evidence of some in-print impact of reduced foreign staffing over an extended period of time. That impact, it seems, involves the newspaper's choice of focus for correspondent activity. In this case, the Tribune appears to have marshalled its few remaining foreign correspondents to provide coverage of the increasingly important third world, while increasing its reliance on wire service coverage of the first and second worlds. Thus, on the basis of these data, the impact of staffing cuts was not uniform across the three geopolitical regions.

However, conclusive data on organizational decision-making--on correspondent assignments-- must, as indicated, await future scrutiny, in the form of queries of editors and publishers.

Notes

1. See, for example: Don Cook, "Trench coats for sale: The eclipse of the foreign correspondent," Saturday Review, June 24, 1976, pp. 13-16; Frank Kaplan, "The plight of foreign news in the U.S. mass media: An assessment," Gazette, 1979, 25, 233-243; and, Edward Neilan, "Over there and what we read about it over here," Quill, May 1975, pp. 12-16.

2. See Cook, op. cit.; and, more recently, Marna Perry, "Foreign correspondents are staging a comeback," Presstime, April 1980, pp. 18-19.

3. Daniel Riffe, "Second-hand news risky?" Grassroots Editor, Summer 1980, pp. 3-4, 17.

4. Cook, op. cit.

5. Kaplan, op. cit.

6. Daniel Schorr, World: The clouded window (program transcript). Boston: WBGH-TV, for Public Broadcasting System, 1979.

7. Neilan, op. cit.

8. Barry Rubin, International news and the American media. The Washington Papers (5:49). Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977.

9. Daniel Sreebny, "American correspondents in the Middle East: Perceptions and problems," Journalism Quarterly, 1978, 56, 386-388.

10. Ralph Kliesch, "A vanishing species: The American newsman abroad," Overseas Press Club directory. New York: Overseas Press Club, 1975.

11. Quoted in Charles Eisendrath, "Foreign correspondence: A declining art," Columbia Journalism Review, Nov.-Dec. 1976, pp. 14-18.

12. See, among others: Cook, op. cit.; Kaplan, op. cit.; and Neilan, op. cit.

13. Perry, op. cit. And, in April 1980 personal correspondence, Foreign News Editor Nate Polowetzky of the Associated Press predicted his agency will, in coming years, increase its contingent of full-time, American correspondents abroad from the current 98 to approximately 110. Interestingly, in a 1978 Harris poll reported by Kaplan, op. cit., 41 percent of the public surveyed expressed

great interest in foreign news, but only 5 percent of the media practitioners polled believed this category of news was salient to audience members.

14. Perry, op. cit.

15. Kaplan, op. cit., has concluded this has been the trend for American dailies during the past decade.

16. See, for example: Anthony Austin, "Russia: Changed but unchanged," The New York Times Magazine, Mar. 9, 1980, pp. 40-42, 66-68; Stanley Meisler, "Covering the third world (or trying to)," Columbia Journalism Review, Nov.-Dec. 1978, pp. 34-38; and Milt Rosenblum, "Information, please," Columbia Journalism Review, Jan.-Feb. 1981, pp. 59-63.

17. An elite status primarily based on the somewhat outdated: "Is there a 'fairest one' of all?" Seminar, Sept. 1970, pp. 14-23; "Nation's editors pick 15 'superior' papers," Editor & Publisher, April 12, 1960, p. 12; and Carole Weiss, "What America's leaders read," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1974, 28, 1-22.

18. Personal correspondence, Times Foreign Editor Robert Semple Jr., April 1980.

19. Personal correspondence, Tribune News Editor Dennis Gosselin, April 1980.

20. Robert Jones and Roy Carter Jr., "Some procedures for estimating 'newshole' in content analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1959, 23, 399-403.

21. In fact, three separate reliability checks were administered. Neither variable attained a level of less than .90 agreement on any of the three checks. The reliability coefficient computation procedure is detailed in: William Schutz, "Reliability, ambiguity and content analysis," Psychological Review, 1952, 59, 119-120.

22. Categories are the World Bank's. See: Brendan Jones, "African development hopes dashed," New York Times, Jan. 25, 1976, sec. 3, p. 17.

23. Gerhard Tintner, Econometrics. New York: John Wiley, 1952, pp. 211-215.

24. Except where noted, all statistical applications and interpretations are based on procedures detailed in: Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric statistics for the behavioral sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956, pp. 221-229.

25. Paul Snider, "Mr. Gates revisited: A 1966 version of the 1949 case study," Journalism Quarterly, 1967, 44, 419-427; and David White, "The 'gatekeeper': A case study in the selection of news," Journalism Quarterly, 1950, 27, 383-390.

26. In a comparison of the topic "agendas" presented in the two papers' published foreign news, a significant correlation between ranks for the two papers' frequencies of publication of different topics was discerned, particularly in coverage of third-world news. See: Daniel Riffe, "Consonance, conflict and third-world news," paper presented at Annual Conference of the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research, Chicago, Dec. 5, 1980.

27. In fact, Riffe, loc. cit., found that these very patterns of emphasis characterized the Times and the Tribune, respectively.

28. Semple, op. cit.

29. Early studies detailing the importance of the wire service daily budget on gatekeeper decision-making include: David Gold and Jerry Simmons, "News selection patterns among Iowa dailies," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1965, 29, 425-430; and B.H. Liebes, "Decision making by telegraph editors--AP or UPI?" Journalism Quarterly, 1966, 43, 434-442.

Table One

TOTAL FOREIGN ITEMS AND MEAN NUMBER

OF FOREIGN ITEMS PER DAY[a] FOR

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* AND CHICAGO *TRIBUNE*, BY YEAR

	New York *Times*		Chicago *Tribune*	
	total	mean[b]	total	mean[b]
1970	675	48.2	358	25.6
1971	563	40.2	286	20.4
1972	530	37.9	246	17.6
1973	529	37.8	202	14.4
1974	540	38.6	216	15.4
1975	546	39.0	196	14.0
1976	591	42.2	230	16.4
1977	433	30.9	203	14.5
1978	474	33.9	205	14.6
1979	504	36.0	205	14.6
tau=	.42		.45	
p=	.045		.036	

a. Mean items per day = annual total/14.

b. Differences between papers' means each year are significant beyond .001 level by the z-test.

Table Two

FOREIGN ITEMS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CHICAGO TRIBUNE,
BY ORIGINATING AGENT, BY YEAR

	New York Times				Chicago Tribune			
	corr-espondent %	wire %	can't tell %	(n)	corr-espondent %	wire %	can't tell %	(n)
1970	51.4	45.9	2.7	675	22.1	68.7	9.2	358
1971	56.4	41.6	2.0	563	27.3	66.1	6.6	286
1972	52.8	44.9	2.3	530	24.8	65.9	9.3	246
1973	47.3	51.2	1.5	529	26.2	66.8	6.9	202
1974	51.1	43.1	5.7	540	22.2	62.0	15.7	216
1975	45.1	48.0	7.1	546	17.9	68.4	13.8	196
1976	48.6	44.7	6.8	591	11.7	83.0	5.2	230
1977	46.2	45.7	8.1	433	12.8	78.3	8.9	203
1978	49.8	41.8	8.4	474	20.0	74.1	5.9	205
1979	50.3	43.1	6.6	504	16.6	77.1	6.3	205
tau=	.33				.51			
p=	.09				.02			

Table Three

FOREIGN ITEMS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CHICAGO TRIBUNE,

BY GEOPOLITICAL FOCUS, BY YEAR

	New York Times				Chicago Tribune			
	1st world %	2nd world %	3rd world %	n	1st world %	2nd world %	3rd world %	n
1970	46.2	13.0	40.7	675	53.0	9.3	37.7	358
1971	41.4	15.8	42.8	563	58.9	11.6	29.5	286
1972	45.3	14.0	40.7	530	55.7	9.3	35.0	246
1973	46.3	11.3	42.3	529	57.5	8.0	34.5	202
1974	44.3	12.6	43.1	540	53.0	9.3	37.7	216
1975	47.3	9.3	43.4	546	53.6	6.6	39.8	196
1976	45.7	13.4	40.9	591	55.1	11.9	33.0	230
1977	48.3	11.8	40.0	433	57.5	12.0	30.5	203
1978	43.0	13.7	43.2	474	52.0	13.7	34.3	205
1979	44.2	11.9	43.8	504	40.0	14.6	45.4	205
tau=	-.02	.20	-.36		.34	-.51	-.09	
p=	.46	.21	.075		.09	.02	.36	

Table Four

CORRESPONDENT-ORIGINATED FOREIGN ITEMS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES AND CHICAGO TRIBUNE, BY GEOPOLITICAL FOCUS, BY YEAR

	New York Times						Chicago Tribune					
	1st world		2nd world		3rd world		1st world		2nd world		3rd world	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1970	52.2	299	54.9	71	52.9	289	34.9	166	19.4	31	11.7	128
1971	54.1	229	60.5	81	59.8	241	39.2	153	30.3	33	8.8	80
1972	60.0	235	47.8	69	49.5	214	34.7	118	30.4	23	15.9	82
1973	44.2	242	43.1	58	53.4	221	25.7	105	40.0	15	29.4	68
1974	52.3	220	68.8	64	52.0	225	31.6	98	38.9	18	15.2	66
1975	48.5	237	36.7	49	50.9	222	16.7	90	38.5	13	22.7	66
1976	55.7	253	37.1	70	52.6	228	10.3	117	15.4	26	14.7	75
1977	44.8	183	51.1	47	56.0	168	14.1	99	21.7	23	11.1	63
1978	57.1	182	51.7	58	52.6	194	17.5	97	18.5	27	27.5	69
1979	46.2	212	46.4	56	63.9	202	15.1	73	30.0	30	15.7	89
tau=	.07		.20		-.18		.64		.16		-.16	
p=	.39		.21		.24		.005		.27		.27	